The Formation of Economic Preferences

Alexander Bertermann (ifo Munich) Laura Breitkopf (MPI Bonn) Shyamal Chowdhury (ANU Canberra) Hannah Schildberg-Hörisch (U Düsseldorf, MPI Bonn) Matthias Sutter (MPI Bonn, U Cologne, U Innsbruck)

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Motivation

Economic preferences—time, risk, and social—are essential building blocks of many economic models and determine large sets of behaviors and outcomes in (adult) life:

- Social preferences: Cooperative behaviors at the workplace, donations, public good provision, and repayment of loans
- Risk preferences: Health outcomes, investment decisions, and addictive behaviors
- Time preferences: Criminal behaviors, educational attainment, health, and labor market success

Similar patterns observed for children (e.g., Castillo et al. 2011, 2018, 2019, Sutter et al. 2013).

 Associations persist: Measures of economic preferences in childhood also predict adult outcomes (e.g., Borghans et al. 2008, Golsteyn et al. 2014)

Therefore, it is important to better understand preference formation in childhood and adolescence. We think of it in the framework of a skill formation process.

Skill formation during childhood as dynamic, multistage process where skills change over time as result of accumulating investments.

Technology of skill formation:

$$heta_{t+1} = f_t(heta_t, \sigma_{
ho}, \sigma_{sib}, I_t, S_t, \eta)$$

where

- $heta_{t+1}$ represents a child's economic preferences (e.g., social, risk, and time preferences) at stage t+1
- Self-productivity and cross-fertilization: θ_t is the vector of preference stocks at stage t
- Role of family members: σ_p and σ_{sib} are parents' and siblings' economic preferences
- Parental investments I_t occur between the realizations of θ_t and θ_{t+1}
- Shocks (negative investments) S_t occur between the realizations of θ_t and θ_{t+1}
- η captures unobserved inputs affecting the formation of preferences

Use unique panel data on economic preferences of children and adolescents from 3,800 households to comprehensively study preference formation before onset of adulthood.

- Previous evidence on formation of children's preferences typically based on cross-sectional data: not possible to study dynamic, within-individual development over time (exceptions Kosse et al. 2021 or Castillo et al. 2025)
- Comprehensive empirical evidence on sources of heterogeneity in dynamic preference trajectories, building on model of skill formation (Cunha and Heckman 2007) within single setup:
 - First evidence on self-productivity and cross-fertilization of preferences
 - Role of family members
 - Role of parental investments and exogenous shocks

Four waves of panel data on children's social, risk, and time preferences.

- Children's age range: 7-18
- Tracking more than 4,500 children from almost 3,800 households
- Same incentivized preference measures for whole families
- Rich data on parental investments and shocks
- Random selection of 150 villages in four districts of rural Bangladesh, random sampling of households within villages
- Interviews, incentivized experiments, and IQ tests conducted at the families' homes by local survey firm

Table: Numbers of observations

Panel A: by age group					
Age interval	Frequency	Percent	Cum.		
7-8	1,586	8.61	8.61		
9-10	3,195	17.35	25.96		
11-12	4,214 22.88		48.84		
13-14	4,363	23.69 72.5			
15-16	3,603	19.56	92.09		
17-18	1,456	7.91	100.00		
Total 18,417 100.00					

Panel B: by survey wave

Wave	Frequency	Percent	Cum.
(1) 2018	4,511	24.49	24.49
(2) 2019	4,762	25.86	50.35
(3) 2020	4,703	25.54	75.89
(4) 2022	4,441	24.11	100.00
Total	18,417	100	.00

NOTES: Frequency distributions

Setting



Experiment to elicit social preferences with dictator games (Fehr et al. 2008, Bauer et al. 2014):

Costly prosocial game	1 star for me 1 star for the other child (1,1)	vs.	2 stars for me 0 stars for the other child (2,0)
Costless prosocial game	1 star for me 1 star for the other child (1,1)	vs.	1 star for me 0 stars for the other child (1,0)
Costless envy game	1 star for me 1 star for the other child (1,1)	vs.	1 star for me 2 stars for the other child (1,2)
Costly envy game	1 star for me 1 star for the other child (1,1)	vs.	2 stars for me 3 stars for the other child (2,3)

Stars: experimental currency, like money

Collapse into single prosociality measure:

calculate share of stars given to the other child as
$$\frac{\# \text{ stars given to other child}}{\# \text{ stars given and kept}}$$
 over all four games

Experiment to elicit risk preferences with lottery choices (Binswanger 1980, Bauer et al. 2012):

	Low amount (50% chance)	High amount (50% chance)	_
Gamble 1	25	25)
Gamble 2	22	48	wiele en energe
Gamble 3	20	60	> risk-averse
Gamble 4	15	75	J
Gamble 5	5	95	} risk-neutral
Gamble 6	0	100	} risk-seeking

Lotteries for ages 10-11, with payoffs in Taka

- Risk attitude: higher gamble numbers (between 1-6) are associated with a higher willingness to take
 risks (in gambles 1 to 5, the expected value increases jointly with the variance, and in gamble 6 only the
 variance increases in comparison to gamble 5)
- Further, define indicators for being *risk-averse* (choosing one of the first four gambles), *risk-neutral* (gamble number 5), or *risk-seeking* (gamble number 6)

Experiment to elicit time preferences with choice list approach (Bauer et al. 2012):

Choice set 1	2 stars tomorrow	VS.	3 stars in 3 weeks
	2 stars tomorrow	vs.	4 stars in 3 weeks
Choice set 2	2 stars tomorrow	vs.	3 stars in 3 months
	2 stars tomorrow	vs.	4 stars in 3 months
Choice set 3	2 stars in 1 month	vs.	3 stars in 4 months
	2 stars in 1 month	VS.	4 stars in 4 months
Stare: ovporim	ontal currency like me	nov	

Stars: experimental currency, like money

- Patience: count number of patient choices (between 0-6)

Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (Wechsler 2003):

- Consists of progressive matrices, digit span, symbol search, and word similarities tests
- Measuring fluid and crystallized IQ, which together form overall IQ (Cattell 1971)

Measure: Aggregate IQ where each standardized component enters with equal weight.

Aggregate patterns

Fundamental challenge of disentangling age, period, and cohort effects (perfect linear relationship).

Due to panel data, we can make progress by estimating models with economic preference measures as dependent variables and either sets of age and survey year fixed effects, or age, survey year, and individual fixed effects as independent variables.

- Survey year FE control for period effects (e.g., Covid-19)
- Individual FE for full leverage of panel data: Accounting for time-invariant individual characteristics incl. cohort effects

Results: With increasing age, children become more prosocial, less patient and more likely to be risk-neutral instead of risk-averse or risk-seeking. Age trends are uniform by gender and SES with level effects that match previous evidence.

Aggregate patterns: Development by age



Figure 1. Age trajectory in economic preferences and IQ

NOTES: We regress each outcome variable on age dummies and year fixed effects. Standard errors are clustered at the household level. Prosociality reflects the proportion of stars given to the other child and ranges from 0.28 to 0.58. The risk-taking variable ranges from 1 to 6 and the patience scale ranges from 0 to 6. IQ is standardized to have a mean of zero and a standard deviation of 1 across the sample. The Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children is used to measure IQ in children up to age 16.

Aggregate patterns: Development by age

We investigate degree of homogeneity in children's economic preferences by examining the variance of distributions at different ages (pooled across all waves).



Figure: Standard deviation of economic preferences and IQ by age

Results: Decline in variance of risk attitudes and patience with age, suggesting that children are becoming more homogeneous in these preference dimensions.

Results on skill formation

 $\theta_{t+1} = f_t(\theta_t, \sigma_p, \sigma_{sib}, I_t, S_t, \eta)$

To provide evidence on self-productivity of skills, we regress children's preferences (in t) on up to three lags (t-1, t-2, t-3) of the same preference dimension.

	Prosociality in t	Risk attitude in t	Risk- aversion in t	Risk- neutrality in <i>t</i>	Risk- lovingness in t	Patience in t	Cognitive abilities in t
t-1	0.128***	0.094***	0.086***	0.074***	0.077***	0.211***	0.438***
t-2	0.063***	0.068***	0.073***	0.057***	0.062***	0.073***	0.301***
t - 3	0.065***	0.025	0.032	0.036*	0.026*	0.046***	-
N	2,644	2,644	2,644	2,645	2,645	2,645	2,990

NOTES: Each column is a separate regression with the column header as the outcome. t = 2022 wave for economic preferences and 2020 for cognitive abilities. Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

Results: Not only the first lag, but all lags have explanatory power for the current value of a preference: preferences at a given age do not only depend on preferences in the previous year, **but also on earlier maturational stages**.



Self-productivity of economic preferences and IQ by age

NOTES: We regress each outcome variable, as indicated at the bottom of each subfigure for time t, on the corresponding variable from time t - 1. This regression is estimated separately for each age group, and the resulting coefficients are plotted. To maximize the sample size, we pool data from all available waves and control for survey year fixed effects.

Cross-fertilization

$$\theta_{t+1} = f_t(\theta_t, \sigma_p, \sigma_{sib}, I_t, S_t, \eta)$$

To provide evidence on cross-fertilization of skills, we regress children's preferences (in t) on other, lagged (t-1) preference dimensions.

	Prosociality in t	Risk attitude in t	Patience in t	Cog. abilities in t
Prosociality in $t - 1$	0.082***	-0.010	0.014	-0.016 * *
Risk attitude in $t-1$	0.004	0.064***	0.009	-0.003
Patience in $t-1$	0.015	-0.003	0.122***	0.034***
Cognitive abilities in $t-1$	0.029 * *	-0.019*	-0.011	0.534***
Ν	10,880	10,880	10,880	7,317

NOTES: Each column is a separate regression with the column header as the outcome. All variables are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. OLS regression includes age and survey year fixed effects. Pooling all available waves (2018 wave has no lag and is omitted from the regression). Significance: p < 0.10, "*p < 0.05, "**p < 0.01.

Results: We do not observe substantial cross-fertilization of children's economic preferences. Cognitive abilities foster the development of prosociality and risk-aversion.

	Dep	Dependent variable: Child's value in t				
	Prosociality in t	Risk attitude in <i>t</i>	Patience in t	Cognitive abilities in t		
Parental investments						
Material investment in t-1	0.005	0.001	0.021	0.010		
Positive parenting in t-1	0.049***	0.014	0.020	0.043***		
Monetary shock to the ho	ome environme	nt				
Loss of crops in t-1	-0.044	0.036	-0.090 * *	-0.041		
Lagged skills of sibling an	d parents					
Sibling $(t-1)$	0.003	0.009	0.047***	0.164***		
Mother $(t-1)$	0.000	0.002	0.047***	0.002		
Father $(t-1)$	0.053***	0.035 * *	0.035 * *	0.005		
N	4,022	4,024	4,017	2,857		

Joint technology of skill formation: adding investments, shocks and family

NOTES: We estimate a value-added model by regressing the outcome variable indicated in the column header in t on the variables denoted in the rows and the outcome in t – 1. Additional controls include fixed effects for age and survey year, and an indicator variable for gender. Each column is a separate regression with the column header as the outcome. Regressions are based on outcomes in wave 2019 and 2020. Standard errors are clustered at the household level. Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

New insights based on novel panel data on children's and adolescents' economic preferences:

- Disentangling age, period, and cohort effects in panel analysis largely confirms age patterns in preference development based on cross-sectional data
- Exception: average patience decreases as children grow older, probably due to decrease for many children with high exposure to negative, exogenous shocks individual heterogeneity behind aggregate trends
- Heterogeneities in parenting style and parental time investments, exogenous shocks, transmission among family members all contribute to heterogeneity in children's preference development
- First evidence on self-productivity in formation of preferences, even beyond one-year time lag
- Nearly no evidence for cross-fertilization among different preference dimensions

Many thanks for listening.

Please send your feedback to Shyamal.Chowdhury@anu.edu.au

Back-up materials

Measures

Social preferences experiment

Experiment to elicit social preferences with dictator games (Fehr et al. 2008, Bauer et al. 2014):

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Lotteries for ages 10-11, with payoffs in Taka

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- Further, define indicators for being *risk-averse* (choosing one of the first four gambles), *risk-neutral* (gamble number 5), or *risk-seeking* (gamble number 6)

Time preferences experiment

Experiment to elicit time preferences with choice list approach (Bauer et al. 2012):

Choice set 1	2 stars tomorrow	VS.	3 stars in 3 weeks
	2 stars tomorrow	VS.	4 stars in 3 weeks
Choice set 2	2 stars tomorrow	VS.	3 stars in 3 months
	2 stars tomorrow	vs.	4 stars in 3 months
Choice set 3	2 stars in 1 month	vs.	3 stars in 4 months
	2 stars in 1 month	vs.	4 stars in 4 months

Stars: experimental currency, like money

- Patience: count number of patient choices (between 0-6)

Time preferences experiment

Experiment to elicit time preferences with choice list approach (Bauer et al. 2012):

Choice set		Choic	е	Start (sooner date)	Delay length	
Choice set 1	2 stars tomorrow ★★	vs.	3 stars in 3 weeks ★★★	the next day	3 weeks	
	2 stars tomorrow ★★	vs.	4 stars in 3 weeks ★★★★			
Choice set 2	2 stars tomorrow ★★	vs.	3 stars in 3 months ★★★	the next day	3 months	
choice set 2	2 stars tomorrow ★★	vs.	4 stars in 3 months ★★★★			
Choice set 3	2 stars in 1 month ★★	VS.	3 stars in 4 months ★★★	in 1 month	3 months	
	2 stars in 1 month ★★	VS.	4 stars in 3 weeks ★★★★			

Stars: experimental currency, like money

- Patience: count number of patient choices (between 0-6)

Percentage of people who remember the decision they made previously

Response	Frequency	Percent	Cum.
Panel A: Children			
NO	4,649	88.43	88.43
YES	608	11.57	100.00
Total	5,257	100.00	
Panel B: Parents			
NO	6,055	94.65	94.65
YES	342	5.35	100.00
Total	6,397	100.00	

NOTES: Parents and children response to the following question: "If you have done experiments last time, do you remember any of the decisions you made?"

Aggregate patterns: Controlling for other preference dimensions and IQ



NOTES: The figures also control for the development of other economic preferences and cognitive skills over the same period for the same child. The IQ test for children was administered up to age 16, so we can only estimate these regressions up to that age.

Aggregate patterns: Heterogeneity in age profiles by SES





Figure: Cognitive abilities

Aggregate patterns: Heterogeneity in age profiles by gender



Figure: Patience

Figure: Risk attitude



Development of social preferences

Gender

-O- Female

-C Main



Figure: Cognitive abilities

Main results

Empirical strategy to explore age trends

Specification to estimate age pattern when controlling for survey year fixed effects:

$$y_{it} = \beta + \gamma age_{it} + \delta_t + \varepsilon_{it}$$
 $i = 1, ..., N, t = 1, ..., T,$

where y_{it} is the economic preference measure (social, risk, time) for child *i* at time *t*. γ is the vector of coefficients of interest, the age effect, and age enters the specification as fixed effects in the form of indicator variables for 2-year age bins (from age 7-18) with ages 7-8 as the reference category. δ_t denotes the vector of survey year fixed effects, and ε_{it} is the error term. Standard errors are clustered on person-level.

Specification to estimate age pattern when additionally controlling for individual fixed effects:

$$y_{it} = \gamma \mathsf{age}_{it} + \delta_t + \alpha_i + \varepsilon_{it},$$

where α_i denotes the additional vector of individual fixed effects and ε_{it} is the error term.

Aggregate patterns: Development by age





NOTES: Figure displays age profile of social preferences (prosociality) when regressing the preference measure on age FE and survey year FE. 95% Cls, standard errors clustered on person-level.

Age profile of risk preferences



NOTES: Figures display age profiles of risk preferences (continuous risk and dummy variables for being risk-averse, risk-neutral, or risk-seeking) when regressing the preference measure on age FE and survey year FE. 95% CIs, standard errors clustered on person-level.

Age profile of time preferences



Figure: Patience
Age trends of social and time preferences

	Prosoci	ality	Patier	ice
-	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Age 9-10	0.001	-0.000	-0.177***	-0.113
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.065)	(0.086)
Age 11-12	0.004*	0.005	-0.409***	-0.288 * *
	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.063)	(0.113)
Age 13-14	0.008***	0.009*	-0.487***	-0.344 * *
	(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.064)	(0.147)
Age 15-16	0.010***	0.013 * *	-0.539***	-0.395 * *
	(0.002)	(0.007)	(0.067)	(0.184)
Age 17-18	0.008 * *	0.014	-0.603***	-0.392*
	(0.003)	(0.009)	(0.094)	(0.234)
Survey year FE	1	1	1	1
Individual FE	×	1	×	1
Constant	0.468***	0.467***	2.446***	2.393***
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.058)	(0.087)
N	16,805	16,048	16,804	16,048

Table: Specifications to estimate age trends of social and time preferences

NOTES: Reference category for age FE is age 7-8. Prosociality is defined as the share of stars given to the other child and ranges from 0.28 to 0.58. Patience ranges from 0 to 6 (number of patient choices). Pooling all available waves. Standard errors clustered at individual level are reported in parentheses. Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

Age trends of risk preferences

	Risk att	itude	Risk-ave	rsion	Risk-neut	rality	Risk-lovir	ngness
-	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Age 9-10	0.156***	0.139 * *	-0.043***	-0.056***	0.049***	0.041 * *	-0.006	0.015
	(0.047)	(0.060)	(0.016)	(0.021)	(0.014)	(0.019)	(0.014)	(0.018)
Age 11-12	0.211***	0.142*	-0.065***	-0.080***	0.081***	0.053 * *	-0.016	0.027
	(0.045)	(0.079)	(0.015)	(0.027)	(0.013)	(0.026)	(0.013)	(0.023)
Age 13-14	0.138***	0.013	-0.022	-0.031	0.086***	0.040	-0.064***	-0.008
	(0.045)	(0.103)	(0.015)	(0.036)	(0.014)	(0.034)	(0.013)	(0.030)
Age 15-16	0.114 * *	-0.031	-0.033 * *	-0.047	0.104***	0.050	-0.072***	-0.003
	(0.048)	(0.130)	(0.016)	(0.046)	(0.014)	(0.042)	(0.013)	(0.038)
Age 17-18	0.026	-0.114	-0.024	-0.059	0.072***	0.012	-0.048 * *	0.046
	(0.069)	(0.167)	(0.025)	(0.060)	(0.022)	(0.056)	(0.019)	(0.049)
Survey year FE	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Individual FE	×	1	×	1	×	1	×	1
Constant	4.331***	4.382***	0.446***	0.455***	0.236***	0.256***	0.317***	0.288***
	(0.042)	(0.060)	(0.014)	(0.021)	(0.012)	(0.019)	(0.012)	(0.018)
N	16,806	16,049	16,806	16,049	16,806	16,049	16,806	16,049

Table: Specifications to estimate age trends of risk preferences

NOTES: Reference category for age FE is age 7-8. Continuous risk (attitude) measures the willingness to take risks and ranges from 1-6 (gamble number that was picked). Risk-aversion (gambles 1-4), risk-neutrality (gamble 5), and risk-lowingness (gamble 6) are dummy variables. Pooling all available waves. Standard errors clustered at individual level are reported in parentheses. Significance: $*_p < 0.01$, $*_p < 0.05$, $*_p < 0.05$, $*_p < 0.01$.

Measurement of parental investment

Table: PCA results for material investment and positive parenting

Latent factor	Measurement (items)	Factor loadings	
		Girls	Boys
Material	Cash given to children	0.4401	0.4488
investment	Childrens shoes and sandals	0.5847	0.6006
	Clothes for children	0.5821	0.5943
	School expenditure	0.3543	0.2911
		Bo	oth
Positive	I show my child love with words and gestures.	0.4	761
parenting	I discuss my child's experiences.	0.4	749
	I always know where my child is outside.	0.4	033
	I comfort my child when they're sad.	0.4	305
	I praise my child.	0.4	231
	I influence my child's circle of friends.	0.1	444

NOTES: Table displays PCA factor loadings of items for parental investment indices. 2022 wave. School expenses include books and papers, tuition fees and the cost of private tutors.

Table: PCA results for quality time investment

Latent factor	Measurement (items) F		Factor loadings	
		Mother	Father	
Quality time	Discuss managing anger and strong feelings	0.4217	0.4256	
investment	Discuss working cooperatively	0.4453	0.4614	
	Discuss making good decisions	0.4378	0.4355	
	Discuss dealing with bullying	0.3851	0.3910	
	Having joint meals	0.1715	0.1772	
	Talking about her/his school day	0.2933	0.2920	
	Doing homework together	0.2560	0.2218	
	Discussing challenges and decisions	0.3209	0.3125	

NOTES: Table displays PCA factor loadings of items for parental investment indices. 2022 wave.

Correlation matrix of parental investment indices

Table: Correlations of parental investment indices

	Material investment (both)	Positive parenting (mother)	Quality time (father)	Quality time (mother)
Material investment	1.0000			
Positive Parenting	0.1007	1.0000		
Quality time (father)	0.0206	0.0620	1.0000	
Quality time (mother)	0.0538	-0.0094	0.1738	1.0000

NOTES: Displayed are correlation coefficients of indices for material investment (from both parents), the degree of positive parenting (answered by mothers), and quality time investment by fathers and mothers. 2022 wave.

Addressing the endogeneity of material investments

Table: First-stage results

	Material investment
log (Price of Hybrid seed - Boro)	-0.435***
	(0.124)
log (Price of Hybrid seed - Vegetables)	-0.079***
	(0.020)
Constant	3.067***
	(0.718)
F-statistics	15.16
N	4,511

NOTES: The data for village prices and material investments are from the 2018 wave. Controls include age fixed effects and a female dummy. Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

Table: Second-stage results

	Prosociality	Risk attitude	Patience	Cognitive abilities			
Panel A: Endogenous material investment							
Material investment	0.017	0.008	0.002	0.175***			
	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.020)			
N	4,483	4,483	4,483	3,169			
Panel B: Exogenous	material inve	stment					
Material investment	-0.134	0.228	0.384*	1.019***			
(instrumented)	(0.209)	(0.205)	(0.211)	(0.181)			
N	4,189	4,189	4,189	3,002			

NOTES: Each column is a separate regression with the column header as the outcome. Controls include age fixed effects and a gender dummy. 2018 wave. Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

The role of parental investments by age

		Young (up to age 14)				Old (above	e age 14)	
	Prosociality	Risk attitude	Patience	IQ	Prosociality	Risk attitude	Patience	IQ
Material investment	0.031	0.018	0.000	0.178***	-0.001	0.001	-0.012	0.183***
Positive parenting	0.017	0.008	0.029	0.054 * *	0.105***	-0.001	0.005	0.120 * *
Time investment (father)	0.006	0.013	0.008	_	-0.025	-0.029	0.010	_
Time investment (mother)	-0.021	-0.058 * *	0.052*	-	0.022	-0.075 * *	0.044	_
Ν	1915	1915	1915	5714	1810	1810	1810	356

NOTES: Regressions are based on wave 2022 for economic preferences and on wave 2018 and 2019 for cognitive abilities. Each column is a separate regression with the column header as the outcome. Economic preferences are standardized (across 2022 wave). Controls include age fixed effects and a gender dummy. Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

Introduction of paid maternity leave in 2008

	Prosociality	Risk attitude	Patience
Panel A: baseline			
Paid maternity leave [2008] $ imes$	0.060*	0.026	-0.029
mother working [baseline]	(0.034)	(0.036)	(0.035)
Ν	16,803	16,804	16,802
Panel B: including siblings fixe	ed effects		
Paid maternity leave [2008] $ imes$	0.104 * *	0.021	-0.020
mother working [baseline]	(0.046)	(0.050)	(0.046)
Ν	11,497	11,498	11,495

Table: The impact of paid maternity leave on children's preferences

NOTES: Each column is a separate regression with the column header as the outcome. Controls in both specifications include age and survey year fixed effects, a gender dummy and an indicator for the number of siblings. Panel B includes sibling fixed effects and an indicator for sibling age difference. Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

◀ go back

Children's mental health and productivity of inputs

 $\theta_{t+1} = f_t(\theta_t, \sigma_p, \sigma_{sib}, I_t, S_t, \eta; m_t)$

We hypothesize that children's mental health, *m*, influences perception of parental investments: Children better able to process parental investments if they have good mental health.

	Good mental health conditions			Bad mental health conditions		
	Prosociality	Risk attitude	Patience	Prosociality	Risk attitude	Patience
Material investment	0.029*	0.012	0.001	-0.002	0.002	-0.062
Positive parenting	0.055***	-0.007	0.032*	-0.057	0.045	-0.041
Time investment (father)	-0.013	-0.007	0.017	-0.004	0.008	0.051
Time investment (mother)	-0.019	-0.073***	0.025	0.010	-0.016	0.117 * *
Ν	2,989	2,989	2,989	747	747	747

NOTES: Each column is a separate regression with the column header as the outcome. Controls include age FE and gender. 2022 wave. Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

Results: Largely in line with hypothesis.

Measuring mental health problems

Behavioral disorders, emotional symptoms and hyperactivity from the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire are highly predictive for child psychiatric disorders (Goodman et al., 2000).

- Used by the WHO as a diagnostic criterion for child psychiatric disorders
- Mullick and Goodman (2001) validated the use in Bangladesh and recommended critical values that indicate mental health problems
- 24,4 percent of the children in our estimation sample have mental health problems

Children's mental health and productivity of inputs

	Prosociality	Risk attitude	Patience
Panel A: Good men	tal health con	ditions	
Material investment	0.029*	0.012	0.001
	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.019)
Positive parenting	0.055***	-0.007	0.032*
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Time investment	-0.013	-0.007	0.017
(father)	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.021)
Time investment	-0.019	-0.073***	0.025
(mother)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.024)
Ν	2,989	2,989	2,989
Panel B: Bad menta	l health condi	tions	
Material investment	-0.002	0.002	-0.062
	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.040)
Positive parenting	-0.057	0.045	-0.041
	(0.037)	(0.038)	(0.040)
Time investment	-0.004	0.008	0.051
(father)	(0.040)	(0.043)	(0.049)
Time investment	0.010	-0.016	0.117 * *
(mother)	(0.047)	(0.051)	(0.047)
N	747	747	747

NOTES: Each column is a separate regression with the column header as the outcome. Controls include age FE and gender. 2022 wave. Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

Balancing table

	Wealth index (2019) (standardized)	Family income (2019) (standardized)
Flood	0.005	0.017
N	3918	3941

NOTES: OLS regression with the outcome variables indicated in the column header. The flood affected 19.1 per cent of the children in the sample. Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

∮ go back

Impact of crop loss on skills of all family members

	Prosociality	Risk attitude	Patience	Cognitive abilities
Panel A: Moth	er			
Loss of crops	0.026	-0.035	-0.090***	-0.244***
	(0.033)	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.029)
Ν	8874	8874	8864	8874
Panel B: Fathe	r			
Loss of crops	0.040	-0.025	-0.082 * *	-0.229***
	(0.034)	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.031)
Ν	6914	6914	6910	6913
Panel C: Child	ren			
Loss of crops	-0.003	-0.063 * *	-0.108***	-0.278***
	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.030)	(0.027)
Ν	8672	8673	8671	6171

NOTES: Each column is a separate regression with the column header as the outcome. A sudden loss of crops affected 21.1 percent of the children in the sample. Controls include age fixed effects. Wave 2018 and 2019. Significance: *p < 0.01, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

∢ go back

Impact of crop loss on children's skills by age

(Exogenous) shocks: regress children's preferences on exposure to loss of crops, causing high economic distress to families, by age.



Impact of flood exposure by age

(Exogenous) shocks: regress children's preferences on exposure to severe flood, causing high economic distress to families, by age.



The role of family members

	Dependent variable: Child's value in t									
	Prosociality in t	Risk attitude in t	Risk- aversion in t	Risk- neutrality in t	Risk- lovingness in t	Patience in t	Cognitive abilities in t			
Child $(t-1)$	0.075***	0.067***	0.074***	0.063***	0.056***	0.102***	0.462***			
	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.021)			
Sibling $(t-1)$	0.016	0.001	-0.007	0.005	0.001	0.035 * *	0.168***			
	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.017)			
Mother $(t-1)$	0.005	-0.006	-0.003	0.010	0.004	0.017***	0.010			
	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.005)	(0.017)			
Father $(t-1)$	0.048***	0.033***	0.022*	-0.016	0.022*	0.015***	0.008			
	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.005)	(0.015)			
N	5,823	5,825	5,825	5,825	5,825	5,818	2,859			

NOTES: Each column is a separate regression with the column header as the outcome. OLS regression includes survey year fixed effects. Pooling all available waves, i.e., t = 2019, 2020, 2022. Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

Co-development of family members

Dyad	Preference type	$r(I_{child}, I_{dyad})$		$r(S_{child}, S_{dyad})$		
		Est.	SE	Est.	SE	
Mother	Patience	2.557***	0.165	1.059***	0.085	
	Risk	0.176***	0.029	0.054***	0.016	
	Stars (*100)	7.372***	0.704	2.009***	0.367	
Father	Patience	2.226***	0.192	0.670***	0.095	
	Risk	0.089***	0.031	0.028	0.017	
	Stars (*100)	5.432***	0.741	2.001***	0.398	
Siblings	Patience	1.002***	0.050	0.092*	0.008	
	Risk	0.155***	0.023	0.019***	0.004	
	Stars (*100)	9.460***	0.794	0.588***	0.050	

NOTES: Significance: p < 0.10, p < 0.05, p < 0.01.

Cross-sectional relationship by age (median split)

	Young (up to age 11)				Older (above age 11)			
	Prosociality	Risk	Patience	Cognitive abilities	Prosociality	Risk	Patience	Cognitive abilities
	in t	in t	in <i>t</i>	in t	in t	in t	in <i>t</i>	in <i>t</i>
Parental investments								
Material investment in t	-0.012	0.009	-0.036	0.050 * *	0.039*	-0.003	-0.026	0.033
Positive parenting in t	-0.030	0.007	0.026	0.001	0.000	-0.050 * * *	0.038 * *	0.028
Monetary shock to the home environment								
Loss of crops in t	0.034	-0.085*	-0.014	-0.143 * * *	-0.032	-0.060	-0.103 * *	-0.123 ***
Skills of sibling and pare	nts							
Sibling in t	0.153***	0.120***	0.313***	0.140***	0.121***	0.099***	0.270***	0.253***
Mother in t	0.109***	0.057 * *	0.126***	0.195***	0.103***	0.063***	0.111***	0.256***
Father in t	0.080***	0.041*	0.045 * *	0.137***	0.087***	0.040 * *	0.111***	0.180***
Ν	2302	2304	2299	1561	2411	2411	2408	1303

NOTES: Each column is a separate regression with the column header as the outcome. Controls include fixed effects for age and survey year, and an indicator variable for gender. t = 2018 and 2019 wave. Young: up to age 11, old: above age 11. Standard errors are clustered at the household level. Significance: *p < 0.00, ***p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

Cross-sectional relationship

	Dependent variable: Child's value in t						
	Prosociality in t	Risk attitude in <i>t</i>	Patience in t	Cognitive abilities in t			
Parental investments							
Material investment in t	0.018	0.001	-0.029**	0.036**			
Positive parenting in t	-0.015	-0.023*	0.032**	0.010			
Monetary shock to the home enviro	onment						
Loss of crops in t	-0.001	-0.073**	-0.061**	-0.128***			
Skills of sibling and parents							
Sibling in t	0.136***	0.109***	0.292***	0.182***			
Mother in t	0.107***	0.060***	0.118***	0.223***			
Father in t	0.085***	0.040***	0.079***	0.159***			
Ν	4713	4715	4707	2864			

NOTES: Each column is a separate regression with the column header as the outcome. Controls include fixed effects for age and survey year, and an indicator variable for gender. Pooling all available waves, i.e., t = 2018 and 2019. Standard errors are clustered at the household level. Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

Self-productivity

	Prosociality in t	Risk attitude in t	Risk- aversion in t	Risk- neutrality in t	Risk- lovingness in t	Patience in t	Cognitive abilities in t
t-1	0.128***	0.094***	0.086***	0.074***	0.077***	0.211***	0.438***
	(0.023)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.017)
t-2	0.063***	0.068***	0.073***	0.057***	0.062***	0.073***	0.301***
	(0.017)	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.017)
t - 3	0.065***	0.025	0.032	0.036*	0.026*	0.046***	_
	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.015)	(0.017)	—
N	2,644	2,644	2,644	2,645	2,645	2,645	2,990

NOTES: Each column is a separate regression with the column header as the outcome. t = 2022 wave for economic preferences and 2020 for cognitive abilities. Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

Mother's self-productivity

	Prosociality in <i>t</i>	Risk attitude in <i>t</i>	Risk- aversion in t	Risk- neutrality in t	Risk- lovingness in t	Patience in t	Cognitive abilities in t
t-1	0.048***	0.099***	0.086***	0.045 * *	0.069***	0.119***	0.391***
	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.017)
t-2	0.007	0.053***	0.061***	0.049***	0.033 * *	0.035 * *	0.280***
	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.019)
N	3,259	3,259	3,259	3,259	3,259	3,259	2,990

NOTES: Each column is a separate regression with the column header as the outcome. t = 2020 wave. Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

Father's self-productivity

	Prosociality	Risk attitude	Risk- aversion	Risk- neutrality	Risk- lovingness	Patience	Cognitive abilities
	in t	in t	in t	in t	in t	in t	in t
t-1	0.086***	0.043*	0.093***	0.088***	0.065***	0.092***	0.386***
	(0.021)	(0.023)	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.022)
t-2	0.043 * *	0.073***	0.082***	0.046 * *	0.047 * *	0.086***	0.259***
	(0.021)	(0.023)	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.022)
Ν	2,199	2,199	2,199	2,199	2,199	2,199	2,990

NOTES: Each column is a separate regression with the column header as the outcome. t = 2020 wave. Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

	Young (up to age 14)					Old (above age 14)			
	Prosociality	Risk attitude	Patience	IQ	Prosociality	Risk attitude	Patience	IQ	
	in t	in t	in t	in <i>t</i>	in t	in t	in t	in <i>t</i>	
t-1	0.104***	0.082***	0.175***	0.462***	0.149***	0.106***	0.249***	0.372***	
	(0.031)	(0.028)	(0.029)	(0.019)	(0.033)	(0.027)	(0.030)	(0.033)	
t-2	0.054 * *	0.058 * *	0.059 * *	0.296***	0.071***	0.078***	0.086***	0.309***	
	(0.023)	(0.028)	(0.025)	(0.021)	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.040)	
t-3	0.047* (0.026)	0.024 (0.023)	0.033 (0.025)	_	0.080*** (0.026)	0.026 (0.024)	0.056 * * (0.023)	_	
N	1286	1287	1286	2284	1358	1358	1358	706	

NOTES: Each column is a separate regression with the column header as the outcome. OLS regression includes age fixed effects. t = 2022 wave. Young: up to age 14, old: above age 14. Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

Cross-fertilization

	Prosociality	Risk attitude	Patience	Cog. abilities
	in t	in t	in t	in t
Prosociality in $t-1$	0.082***	-0.010	0.014	-0.016 * *
	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.008)
Risk attitude in $t-1$	0.004	0.064***	0.009	-0.003
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.008)
Patience in $t-1$	0.015	-0.003	0.122***	0.034***
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.010)	(0.008)
Cognitive abilities in $t-1$	0.029 * *	-0.019*	-0.011	0.534***
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Ν	10,880	10,880	10,880	7,317

NOTES: Each column is a separate regression with the column header as the outcome. All variables are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. OLS regression includes age and survey year fixed effects. Pooling all available waves (2018 wave has no lag and is omitted from the regression). Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

Cross-fertilization by age

	Young (up to age 12)				Old (above age 12)			
	Prosociality	Risk attitude	Patience	Cog. abilities	Prosociality	Risk attitude	Patience	Cog. abilities
	in t	in t	in t	in t	in t	in t	in t	in t
Prosociality in $t - 1$	0.043***	-0.032 * *	0.005	-0.009	0.118***	-0.001	0.017	-0.014
	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.012)	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Risk attitude in $t-1$	0.020	0.043***	0.004	0.009	0.007	0.092***	0.013	-0.021
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.011)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.015)
Patience in $t-1$	0.016	-0.024	0.087***	0.046***	0.019	-0.002	0.167***	0.017
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.011)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.013)
Cognitive abilities in $t-1$	0.042 * *	-0.007	0.016	0.525***	0.015	-0.024	-0.015	0.564***
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.018)
Ν	4027	4027	4027	3383	4940	4940	4940	2773

NOTES: Each column is a separate regression with the column header as the outcome. All variables are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. OLS regression includes age and survey year fixed effects. Pooling all available waves (2018 wave has no lag and is omitted from the regression). Young: up to age 12, old: above age 12. Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, **p < 0.01.

	Prosociality	Risk attitude	Patience	Cog. abilities
	in <i>t</i>	in <i>t</i>	in <i>t</i>	in <i>t</i>
Prosociality in $t-1$	0.065***	0.010	0.013	0.003
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Risk attitude in $t-1$	-0.028 * *	0.061***	0.014	0.017*
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Patience in $t-1$	0.003	0.027 * *	0.093***	0.015
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.009)
Cognitive abilities in $t-1$	0.047***	0.016	-0.015	0.496***
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.013)
Ν	7,677	7,677	7,672	7,678

NOTES: Each column is a separate regression with the column header as the outcome. All variables are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. OLS regression includes age and survey year fixed effects. Pooling all available waves (2018 wave has no lag and is omitted from the regression). Significance: *p < 0.10, ***p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

	Prosociality	Risk attitude	Patience	Cog. abilities	
	in <i>t</i>	in <i>t</i>	in t	in <i>t</i>	
Prosociality in $t-1$	0.058***	-0.003	0.009	-0.016	
	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.012)	
Risk attitude in $t-1$	-0.028 * *	0.053***	0.019	-0.000	
	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.012)	
Patience in $t-1$	0.039***	0.011	0.112***	0.005	
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.012)	
Cognitive abilities in $t-1$	0.012	0.017	-0.027 * *	0.454***	
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.015)	
Ν	5501	5501	5499	5501	

NOTES: Each column is a separate regression with the column header as the outcome. All variables are standardized to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one. OLS regression includes age and survey year fixed effects. Pooling all available waves (2018 wave has no lag and is omitted from the regression). Significance: *p < 0.10, ***p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

Further results

Global variation in exposure to natural disasters



Total Natural Disasters per Land Area (in 10k sq. km; 1950-2022)

Source: EM-DAT data, own calculations.

	Dep var: value in 2019 - value in 2018						
	(1) (2) (3)						
	Change in Change in C		Change in				
	patience	self-assessed	PCA index of				
		time preferences	both items				
Panel A: Any shock - reference category: no shock							
Any shock in wave 2018	-0.232**	-0.305***	-0.273***				
	(0.102)	(0.052)	(0.052)				
N	3460	3461	3460				
Panel B: Loss of crops - reference category: no loss of crops							
Loss of crops in wave 2018	-0.307***	* -0.439*** -0					
	(0.107)	(0.055)	(0.056)				
Ν	3460	3461	3460				

NOTES: Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

Zooming in: An unusual decline in patience?

Contrary to findings in richer, Western countries, we observe a significant decline in patience during childhood and adolescence.

	Combined patience measure		
Experienced any shock in 2018:	YES	NO	
Experienced flood shock in 2022:	YES	NO	
Age 9-10	-0.157	0.151 * *	
	(0.133)	(0.071)	
Age 11-12	-0.374***	0.099	
	(0.135)	(0.071)	
Age 13-14	-0.315 * *	0.156 * *	
	(0.136)	(0.074)	
Age 15-16	-0.416***	0.210 * *	
	(0.145)	(0.083)	
Age 17-18	-0.377 * *	0.187*	
	(0.173)	(0.102)	
N	1,926	3,221	

Exploration: Do exogenous shocks (e.g., triggered by natural disasters) influence children's patience?

NOTES: Reference category for age FE is age 7-8. PCA of self-assessed and experimentally measured patience is regressed on age dummy variables (2-year age bins). 2022 wave. Significance: "p < 0.10, "*p < 0.05, "**p < 0.01.

Results: Experiencing a shock increases the likelihood that patience decreases.

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Contrary to findings in richer, Western countries, we observe a significant decline in patience during childhood and adolescence.

Exploration: Do exogenous shocks (e.g., triggered by natural disasters) influence children's patience?

	Patience		
Experienced any shock in 2018:	YES	NO	
Experienced flood shock in 2022:	YES	NO	
Age 9-10	-0.322	0.152	
Age 11-12	-0.686***	0.028	
Age 13-14	-0.765***	0.079	
Age 15-16	-1.034***	0.076	
Age 17-18	-1.007***	0.015	
N	1,926	3,222	

NOTES: Reference category for age FE is age 7-8. Patience (range: 0-6) is regressed on age dummy variables (2-year age bins). 2022 wave. Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.05, ***p < 0.01.

Results: Experiencing a shock increases the likelihood that patience decreases.

Zooming in: An unusual decline in patience?

Contrary to findings in richer, Western countries, we observe a significant decline in patience during childhood and adolescence.

Exploration: Do exogenous shocks (e.g., triggered by natural disasters) influence children's patience?

	Self-assessed time preferences		
Experienced any shock in 2018:	YES	NO	
Experienced flood shock in 2022:	YES	NO	
Age 9-10	-0.077	0.156 * *	
	(0.120)	(0.072)	
Age 11-12	-0.226*	0.138*	
	(0.121)	(0.072)	
Age 13-14	-0.094	0.202***	
	(0.122)	(0.073)	
Age 15-16	-0.114	0.284***	
	(0.135)	(0.083)	
Age 17-18	-0.068	0.283***	
	(0.162)	(0.099)	
N	1,927	3,222	

Results: Experiencing a shock increases the likelihood that patience decreases.

NOTES: Reference category for age FE is age 7-8. Self-assessed time preferences is regressed on age dummy variables (2-year age bins). 2022 wave. Significance: *p < 0.10, **p < 0.0, **p < 0.0.

Shocks and patience

	Dependent variable: Patience						
		Effect of shocks in 2018				Effect of shocks in 2018 and 2022	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Experienced any shock in 2018: Experienced flood shock in 2022:	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES YES	NO NO	
Controlling for shocks 2019-2022:	×	×	1	1	×	×	
Age 9-10	-0.192*	0.123	-0.073	0.175	-0.322	0.152	
	(0.110)	(0.134)	(0.116)	(0.140)	(0.262)	(0.144)	
Age 11-12	-0.388 * * *	-0.046	-0.254 * *	0.034	-0.686***	0.028	
	(0.104)	(0.133)	(0.111)	(0.141)	(0.261)	(0.144)	
Age 13-14	-0.508 * * *	0.000	-0.381 * * *	0.065	-0.765 * * *	0.079	
	(0.107)	(0.134)	(0.115)	(0.147)	(0.263)	(0.150)	
Age 15-16	-0.559 * * *	-0.027	-0.389***	0.100	-1.034 ***	0.076	
	(0.110)	(0.141)	(0.124)	(0.162)	(0.277)	(0.166)	
Age 17-18	-0.546***	-0.067	-0.374 * *	0.061	-1.007 * * *	0.015	
	(0.141)	(0.191)	(0.154)	(0.211)	(0.324)	(0.214)	
Ν	9,863	4,240	8,221	3,568	1,926	3,222	

Table: Age profiles of patience by shock experiences

NOTES: Reference category for age FE is age 7-8. Patience (range: 0-6) is regressed on age dummy variables (2-year age bins) and survey year fixed effects. Columns (3) and (4) additionally control for shocks after 2018 (i.e., dummy variables for any shock in 2019 and 2022 waves). Pooling all available waves in columns (1) to (4), using only 2022 avea in columns (5) and (6). Significance: * p < 0.01. **p < 0.05. **p < 0.01.

◀ go back: age trends ◀ go back: shocks

Bangladesh

Back-up: World map



Back-up: Districts


... captures altruistic/prosocial behaviors in interpersonal situations.

Experiment (Fehr et al. 2008, Bauer et al. 2014):

- Children played four dictator games dividing stars between themselves and another child
- In each of four choices (x,y), one option was allocation (1,1), while alternative benefited one of children: (2,0), (1,0), (1,2), (2,3)

Measure: Overall share of stars a child has given to the other child across all four games

... captures willingness to take risks.

Experiment (Binswanger 1980, Bauer et al. 2012):

- Each child chose one of six gambles yielding either high or low payoff with equal probability
- Low payoff decreasing and high payoff increasing for each successive gamble
- Choices of higher gamble numbers (higher variance and higher expected value): Higher willingness to take risks

Measure: Number of chosen gamble (between 1-6)

Measures: Patience

Time preferences key to inter-temporal trade-offs. In inter-temporal utility, patience represented by long-run discount factor.

Experiment (Bauer et al. 2012):

- Based on choice list approach: Six choices within three choice sets between smaller, sooner and larger, later rewards
- Choice sets had different sooner dates (the next day vs. in 1 month) and different delay lengths (3 weeks vs. 3 months)

Measure: Number of patient choices (between 0-6), i.e., larger, later reward

Time preferences experiment

Experiment to elicit time preferences with choice list approach (Bauer et al. 2012):

Choice set	Choice			Start (sooner date)	Delay length
Choice set 1	2 stars tomorrow ★★	vs.	3 stars in 3 weeks ★★★	the next day	3 weeks
	2 stars tomorrow ★★	vs.	4 stars in 3 weeks ★★★★		
Choice set 2	2 stars tomorrow ★★	vs.	3 stars in 3 months ★★★	the next day	3 months
	2 stars tomorrow ★★	vs.	4 stars in 3 months ★★★★		
Choice set 3	2 stars in 1 month ★★	VS.	3 stars in 4 months ★★★	in 1 month	3 months
	2 stars in 1 month ★★	VS.	4 stars in 3 weeks ★★★★		

Stars: experimental currency, like money

- Patience: count number of patient choices (between 0-6)

Self-productivity by age



Figure: Patience

Figure: Risk attitude



Figure: Prosociality

Figure: Cognitive abilities

more than one lag